

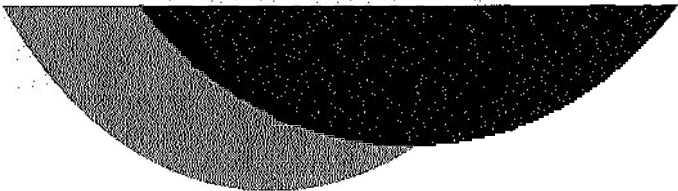


Using Paired-Comparison Testing to Develop a Social Psychology of Civil Rights

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Paired Comparison Testing

- **Pairs of Job Applicants**
 - Resumes written to give equal qualifications
 - Selected and Trained to be similar in work-related behavior
 - Apply concurrently
 - Differ in one demographic characteristic
- **Rigor and relevance: Controlled experiment in real situations**
- **Where stories are more influential than statistics, testing creates stories that are statistics.**
- **Uses:**
 - Public Education: "Still a Problem"
 - Litigation: "Caught You Red-Handed"
 - Monitoring: "Secret Shopper"
 - Research Opportunities
 - Ideal for student involvement
 - Public impact
 - Unexploited potential to relate to theory
- **A technique in its infancy**

Frequency of Discrimination: Research to Date

○ Table One averages:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----|
| ● African American | 16% |
| ● Hispanics | 14% |
| ● Women | 25% |
| ● Older | 28% |

○ Intervening Variables

- Industry, locality, business cycle
- Race – gender interaction
- Stigma of criminal record
- Level of credentials
- Job-seeking strategies

Table One

**Studies of Employment Discrimination in the U.S. Labor Market,
1990-2003, Using Paired Comparison Testing^a**

Demographic Contrast	African-American / White										
	Authors	Year of Testing	Number of Tests	Labor Market	Source of Job Sample	Method of Application	Education in Resumes	Industry or Occupation Sampled	Interacting Characteristics	Net Rate of Discrimination ^c	
	Turner, Fix & Struyk [35]	1990	476	Chicago, Washington	newspaper ads	in-person	high school diploma	mixed entry-level	none	13% ^b	
	James & DelCastillo [20]	1990	145	Denver	newspaper ads	in-person	high school diploma	mixed entry-level	none	2%	
	Bendick, Jackson & Reinoso [6]	1990 - 1991	149	Washington	newspaper ads, industry lists, walk-ins	in-person	2 years of college	mixed entry-level	none	24%	
	Nunes and Seligman [25]	1999	45	San Francisco	industry lists	in-person	2 years of college	employment agencies	none	38%	
	Bertrand & Mullainathan [9]	2001	130	Boston, Chicago	newspaper ads	mailed resumes	high school dropout to college graduate	mixed entry-level	qualifications, neighborhood	3% ^b	
	Pager [33]	2001	350	Milwaukee	newspaper ads, internet lists	in-person	high school diploma	mixed entry-level	criminal record	17%	
	Lodder, McFarland & White [25]	2001	80	Chicago	newspaper ads, internet ads, walk-ins	in-person	high school diploma	suburban retail	customer treatment	12%	
	Lodder, McFarland & White [25]	2003	169	Chicago	newspaper ads, internet ads	mailed resumes	high school diploma	suburban retail	skill level	5% ^b	
	Bussey & Trasyvina [11]	2003	109	San Francisco, Los Angeles	industry lists	in-person	2 years of college	employment agencies	none	31%	

^a Adapted and updated from Bendick (1999), p. 56.^b Based on only first part of application process.^c Difference in success rate for presumed favored group and success rate for presumed disfavored group.

Table One - continued

Demographic Contrast	Hispanic / Anglo					Female / Male			Older / Younger		
Authors	Cross, Kennedy, Meil & Zimmerman [12]	James & DelCastillo [20]	Bendick, Jackson, Reinoso & Hodges [7]	Bendick, Jackson, Reinoso & Hodges [7]	Firestone, Yanoff & Montenegro [16]	Neumark [27]	Nunes & Seligman [28]	Discrimination Research Center [14]	MCAD [26]	Bendick, Jackson & Romero [8]	Bendick, Brown & Wall [5]
Year of Testing	1989	1990	1992	1992	2002	1994	1999	2003	1993	1993	1995 - 1996
Number of Tests	360	140	282	186	122	65	40	24	49	big	102
Labor Market	Chicago, San Diego	Denver	Washington	Washington	Washington	Philadelphia	San Francisco	San Francisco	Boston	nationwide	Washington
Source of Job Sample	newspaper ads	newspaper ads	newspaper ads	newspaper ads, industry lists	newspaper ads, industry lists	industry list	newspaper ads, industry lists	industry list	newspaper ads	lists	newspaper ads
Method of Application	In-person	in-person	telephone	mailed resumes	telephone	In-person	In-person	In-person	In-person	mailed resumes	In-person
Education in Resumes	high school diploma	high school graduates	some college	college graduate	some college	high school diploma	high school diploma	high school diploma	not documented	college graduates	college graduates
Industry or Occupation Sampled	mixed entry-level	mixed entry-level	mixed entry-level	mixed entry-level, employment agencies	mixed entry-level, employment agencies	restaurants	auto service shops	construction trades	entry-level office and retail	mixed sales, office, and professional	sales and managerial
Interacting Characteristics	none	none	none	none	none	restaurant price range	none	none	none	cover letter strategy	none
Net Rate of Discrimination	20%	-10%	22%	> 12%	25%	40%	27%	8%	17%	27% ^b	41%



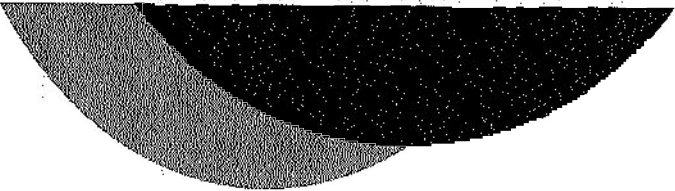
Frequency of Discrimination: Research Opportunities

Useful Additional Ad-Hoc Empiricism

- **More Locale/Industry Studies -- map the labor market**
- **Additional Groups: Disabilities, Sexual orientation, Obesity**
- **Proposed Annual National Report Card
(housing + employment + consumer + ...)**

Much More Useful if Were Guided by Social Psych Theory

- **Testing on all aspects of life of one person, count cumulative impact and illuminate sense of “2 separate nations”**
- **Testing same employer for discrimination against multiple groups, measure extent to which discrimination is group specific or a generic characteristic of an organizational culture**



Mechanisms of Discrimination: Research to Date

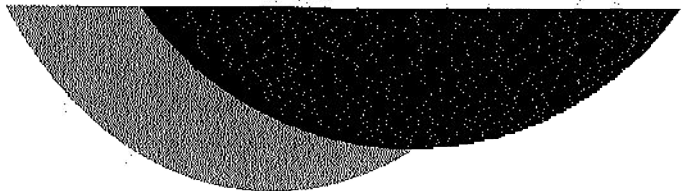
- Race: Polite treatment, unequal outcomes (see Table Two)
- Age discrimination at the beginning, whereas race discrimination arose at the end
- Content and role of stereotypes revealed in micro-inequities
- Employment agencies: contracting out the dirty work

Table Two

The Experiences of African American and White Testers During the Job Application Process
in 149 Tests for Entry-Level Jobs in the Washington, DC Labor Market, 1990-1991^a

Indicator		Furthest Stage Reached	White Tester	African American Tester	Af. Am. / White
Treatment	Met with a Decision-Maker	Application	26.3%	24.6%	93.5%
		Interview	73.3%	79.2%	108.0%
		Job Offer	89.5%	83.3%	93.1%
	Minutes of Contact	Application	15.7	16.1	102.5%
		Interview	17.2	13.3	77.3%
		Job Offer	22.2	23.3	105.0%
	Number of Topics Discussed	Application	0.8	0.82	102.5%
		Interview	2.98	3.02	101.3%
		Job Offer	3.33	2.5	75.1%
	% Moving to the Next Stage	Application	94.60%	91.90%	97.1%
		Interview	71.00%	67.90%	95.6%
Judgments Expressed	Number of Comments by Employer	Application	0.22	0.13	59.1%
		Interview	0.83	0.51	61.4%
		Job Offer	1.75	1.5	85.7%
	Ratio of Positive Comments to Negative Comments	Application	0.5	0.4	86.0%
Employment Outcomes		Interview	2.9	0.5	18.3%
		Job Offer	35.5	0.0	0.0%
	Received Job Offer	Job Offer	46.9%	11.3%	24.1%
	Hourly Wage	Job Offer	\$5.45	\$5.30	97.2%
	Offered Advertised Job	Job Offer	98.0%	94.6%	96.5%

^a Adapted from Bendick, Jackson & Reinoso [8], p.40.



Mechanisms of Discrimination: Research Opportunities

- Identify cultures and practices which differentiate discriminators and non-discriminators tests + followup interviews w/employers)
- Psycholinguistic analysis of tape transcripts of job interviews (only in “1 party states”)
- Study attitude change in testers as a result of exposure to this experience

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